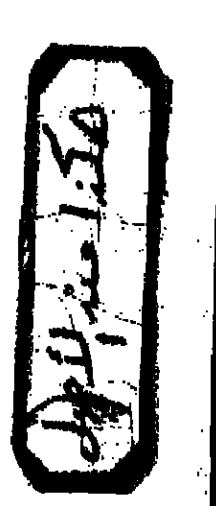


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

...burg, 6 March 1983
...nty-second year - No. 1075 - By air

German stability crucial to Western Alliance

Washington and, even more so, Paris, are worried about "Ger... uncertainties." The worries are ...d round the vision of a spectre of ...erman interests," reemerging from ... past as a mixture of nationalism, ...elfism and neutralism.

There are visions of a Germany re...lling again against the West, bringing ...out the disintegration of post-war ...rman society and endangering the ...tlantic Alliance.

Most of the fears at the moment are ...om the West. But Moscow realises ...at this is an opportunity to exploit.

The danger of a neutralist, anti-...uclear mood spilling over into the ...DR is not at present considered by ...e Soviets as a serious threat.

They are not likely to heed the warn...g issued by the *New York Times* to ...void playing with fire.

For, after all, they are even more like...y to do what they accuse the Americans ...f *planning*: to stay put even if we don't ...nt them to. As for the Americans, ...is not so certain.

...his is one of the reasons for persis...t attempts by Gromyko to persuade ... to dissociate ourselves from our ...mon interests with the Americans, ...h as the Nato double decision to de...y and negotiate, and shake off Wash...

...on's guardianship and pursue an in...ependent policy course.

...he Soviets claim this is the only way ...ater for German interests.

Of course, Gromyko is not likely to ...eve that we will immediately put his ...mmendations into practice.

However, he will probably be satisfi... if he manages to intensify existing ...dencies.

The expression "German interests" ... currently used, particularly in the ...text of the German election cam...gn, is aimed at both superpowers.

However, there is an unmistakable ...phasis on the US as being the main ...rier to the realisation of German in...ests.

...n Moscow's eyes, the very fact that ... two superpowers are treated on an ...qual basis represents a success, since it expresses an easing-up of ties with the West's supreme power.

And yet it would be incorrect to shroud German-American post-war relations in a myth.

Although the Federal Republic of Germany was a product of American policies, neither the CDU/CSU governments nor SPD/FDP governments have always abided by Washington's wishes.

Chancellor Kohl is no exception. Ever since the 1950s, relations between Bonn and Washington have been marked by quarrels, whether on account of respective attitudes towards the Soviet Union as during the Berlin crises, particularly when the Wall was built, or due to closer ties with de Gaulle, the Nato strategy and its costs, the *Ostpolitik* or West Germany "neutral stance" during the Yom-Kippur war.

However, these quarrels were more or less family squabbles. The definition of Federal Republic of Germany foreign policy provided by Willy Brandt after becoming Chancellor in 1969 shed some light on the reasons behind them:

"Our national interest does not allow us to take up a position between the West and the East: the Federal Republic of Germany needs cooperation and coordination with the West and an understanding with the East."

The first maxim has lost some of its universal validity. Anyone demanding a "right to self-defence" against our main allies, as do the Greens, is already sitting on the fence between East and West.

This applies to both domestic and foreign policies, since it amounts to demanding a right to resistance against a security policy which is still supported by the majority.

Anyone who stimulates such opposition, like Egon Bahr, as a pretext for backing down from the Nato double decision to deploy and negotiate, also treads onto the same path.

Even Hans-Jochen Vogel, the SPD Shadow Chancellor, leaves himself open to misunderstanding when he sets up American interests against German ones, without exactly defining what he means.

However, it is quite understandable that the SPD is particularly interested in defending German interests, since a part of this German interest was first made possible by the policies of the Social Democrat/Liberal coalition.

Brandt's additional foreign-policy principle from 1969 of seeking an "understanding with the East" has been put into concrete terms by the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw and the Basic Treaty with the GDR.

It is a legitimate interest to want to protect this part of German foreign policy from being demaged; remarkably enough, this was even achieved during the Afghanistan and Poland crises.

The real danger was caused by the tensions resulting from Soviet arms build-up. Helmut Schmidt clearly realised this. For this reason, he warned against the looming Soviet superiority in the field of medium-range missiles, supported the Nato deploy-and-negotiate resolution and went to Moscow to obtain the agreement of Brezhnev, Gromyko and Ustinov to negotiations.

Finally, he changed Reagan's mind. Reagan had from the start tried to build up a position of strength in the negotiations.

This meant that Schmidt had already renounced another maxim of German foreign policy — never to accept the role of mediator between the superpowers, since this role is too difficult.

However, he had no choice in the matter and his aim was clear: to reestablish a Eurostrategic balance of power. This objective was and is in the German interest. Even the zero option fitted in with it, since it initially brought the Alliance closer together and enabled the start of negotiations.

Schmidt's exemplary role as mediator, however, remains misjudged if his two most important intentions are not followed through: to keep the Alliance as united as possible and obtain a Eurostrategic balance of power.

Both objectives have become blurred in the cases of Vogel and Bahr, since they create the impression that they de-

Continued on page 2



Foreign ministers meet

A lighter moment. France's Claude Cheysson (right) and Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher pictured before the EEC foreign ministers' meeting in Bonn went into session. (Photo: dpa)

Bonn is optimistic about Geneva missiles talks

The chances of progress at the Geneva arms talks are not poor, despite the sour tone of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko.

This at least is Bonn's opinion. And it isn't contradicted by what Bonn's special arms expert, special envoy Friedrich Ruth, heard in Moscow late in February.

The advantage of the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles is that the Soviets and Americans laid their military data on the table right from the start.

As during Salt 1 and Salt 2 where intercontinental missiles were, on the agenda — agreement on the parameters was reached quite fast.

As is well-known, this is not the case for the negotiations on troop reductions being conducted in Vienna.

However, with the military questions virtually clarified in Geneva, all that is missing is a political stimulus.

This will not materialise as long as Moscow can hope that popular opinion in West Germany — or a revision of the SPD decision when forming a new government after the election will lead to a delaying of missile installation even without a definite result or to completely forgetting it altogether.

Ruth's talks in Moscow stood in the shadow of the move made by Gromyko, who had called on Western Europe to uncouple itself from America — even though Soviet propaganda had disputed the fact that such a division is in Soviet interests.

After Gromyko's motives had been exposed, the opinion of the Bonn government was confirmed that the Andropov proposal to include French and British nuclear systems in the Geneva talks also primarily served this dividing policy by Moscow.

Germany should be wary of heeding Moscow's views on what is in the German interests. After all, Soviet security interests are not the same as our own.

Peter Seidlitz

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 February 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Algiers provides forum for segments that make up the PLO

The Palestine Liberation Organisation consists of eight guerrilla groups of varying importance that are hard to reduce to a common denominator either politically or ideologically.

Since their expulsion from Beirut by the Israeli invading forces last summer the PLO guerrillas have been transferred to a roughly similar number of different Arab states.

In each country the host government is keeping a wary eye on its PLO units to make sure they don't gain too much influence.

Yasser Arafat and his rivals George Habash and the even more extremist, pro-Syrian Najiv Hawatmeh no longer have a base for military operations.

The only point they retain in common is their dream of national self-determination in an independent Palestinian state, and even on this issue they have already climbed down more than a peg or two.

With the exception of a handful of extremists they no longer demand to return to the Palestine from which they were expelled (which is now the State of Israel).

They are prepared to make do with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which between them are only a diminutive 2,300 square miles.

But hopes of ever being able to settle there without let or hindrance, either in independence or as part of Jordan, are nowhere near being put into practice.

With the PLO so fragmented, prospects so poor, its military position so weak and the lack of support from the Arab world it was hardly surprising that strong words were spoken in Algiers.

The 16th congress of the Palestinian National Council in the Algerian capital was the first meeting of the parliament in exile since the PLO's Lebanon defeat.

The common aim was fairly clear but views could hardly have varied more widely on how to set about achieving it.

Too many Palestinians still believe they can win by force of arms and refuse to be disabused of this notion either by the lessons of the past or by the hesitation shown in Arab capitals.

Mr Habash, leader of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, seems to be one of those who refuse to learn the lesson.

He continues to tell his followers to give the Israelis a taste of what is coming to them from bases in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon that no longer exist.

"We must," he says, "change the military balance in our favour before going over to political activity."

Such verbal acrobatics are doubtless essential to boost the morale of frustrated guerrillas, but any idea of an approximate balance or even a reduction in the enormous military advantage the Israelis hold is mere wishful thinking.

Yet many PLO representatives in Algiers blew the same trumpet as Mr Habash, and were greeted with tempestuous applause.

Such views are shared by Mr Hawatmeh, leader of the Democratic People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and others who oppose all diplomatic bids to arrive at a negotiated settlement.

One can understand them not being keen on President Reagan's proposal for Palestinian territory on the West Bank to be linked with Jordan.

Mr Reagan has no intention of allowing the Palestinians, a "nation without a country," the right to self-determination.

All he has in mind is self-government, and he is not prepared to allow the PLO the sole right to speak for the Palestinian people either.

But the extremists in Algiers also ruled out the Fez Plan drawn up last year in Morocco by the Arab League, including militant members such as Syria.

The Arab League plan includes views to which no Arab can seriously object, such as an Israeli withdrawal from all territory occupied since 1967 and the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

But it also refers to the right of all countries in the Middle East to live within secure frontiers, and they clearly include Israel.

Indirectly, and without mentioning the arch-enemy's name, that brings us to the fundamental issue every... diously avoided in the Algerian...

No-one was prepared to sta... what to do about Israel, neither ... litants nor the moderates, whose ... fairly undisputedly, Mr Arafat is.

Anyone who wants to solve the ... tinian question must, in the lo... talk with the Israelis, in no ma... roundabout a way.

Cautious bids to come closer ... were undertaken in Algiers. The ... chairman of the National C... Khaled al-Fahoum, gave an as... that the Palestinians had no inten... destroying any state in the region.

He thus dissociated himself fr... threat of violence that noneth... mains an integral part of the ... charter.

Mr Arafat and his moderat... well prevail and gain approval ... Fez declaration, although there ... no question of recognising Isra... indirectly.

The Reagan Plan may be c... but not rejected out of hand.

Maybe the congress will giv... Hussein of Jordan a limited man... negotiate so as to ensure that ... with the United States are not ab... ed entirely.

But no matter how modera... Arafat may be he is not going ... someone Mr Begin or any othe... head of government will negoti...

Neither, for that matter, would ... leader who persuaded his orga... to recognise Israel.

So the debates in Algiers too... in a kind of limbo that could ... the extremists a shot in the arm.

Helmut H...

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 Febru...)

Stability

Continued from page 1

fine this balance differently, are satisfied with a little less and are trying to influence the Western position accordingly."

This is just as non-beneficial to the Geneva talks as is sticking to the demand for inclusion of French and British nuclear potentials in negotiations. Although this is justified in the long run, it is unnecessary in the short run and creates new conflicts within the Alliance. Here, the wrong means are used to forward justified, German interests.

It is in our interests to have as few nuclear weapons on German soil as possible.

However, this must be done within the framework of a balanced solution or a new strategy which is primarily based on conventional weapons.

To delay or torpedo the Nato dual-track resolution, on the other hand, is full of risks.

The Alliance would only be weakened, America forced to redefine its interests and a mere illusion of security created.

If the zero option proves unattainable, all that remains is an interim solution removing as many SS-20s as possible and as many Pershings as necessary.

A consensus ought to be possible on this German interest — at least following the general elections.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 February 1983)

New Delhi non-aligned summit sets all sorts of records

The New Delhi non-aligned summit is expected to break all records. There will be 3,000 delegates, 1,000 Pressmen, 80 heads of government or heads of state and more than 100 states represented.

Last year the non-aligned summit had to be postponed and relocated because of the Gulf war between Iraq and Iran. At the time of writing it was about to start in the Indian capital.

India has just sent delegations a draft resolution referring to the main items on the agenda and points of dispute.

They include Namibia, Palestine, the Indian Ocean, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

India would like to keep the seat of what used to be Cambodia empty but is encountering increasing resistance from ASEAN, which would like to see Prince Sihanouk representing his country.

A less controversial but important issue nonetheless will be the debate on the strategy the non-aligned countries are to adopt on international economic affairs.

Their position has further deteriorated since the collapse of the Opec cartel. With three months to go to Unctad VI in Belgrade the draft is critical of the failure to hold global negotiations as called for by the Third World.

A four-point programme is suggested as a means of ending this stalemate. The draft also sets great store by the development of economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves.

SONNTAGS BLATT

There has been a steady increase in the number of non-aligned countries. There were 25 at Belgrade in 1961, but the increase has not just boosted their role.

It has also created serious problems on account of growing differences between members, making it increasingly difficult to reach agreement and make common cause.

Increasingly frequent instances of hostilities between non-aligned countries, such as Iraq and Iran, have led to a crisis of credibility.

That is why the draft calls on all non-aligned countries to remember their pledge to settle disputes peacefully with all nations.

The deterioration in international relations has likewise made its mark on them. America and Russia both view the development of the non-aligned movement solely in terms of East-West ties.

The Reagan administration, in the person of UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, has openly warned that there will be consequences if the non-aligned nations continue to resist the US.

The Soviet Union on its part seeks to capitalise on anti-Western demands, arguing that the non-aligned countries are its natural allies.

But like the United States, the ... Union rejects all demands lev... itself.

The interests of socialism, a... those of the Soviet Union, must ... be the yardstick of relations w... non-aligned.

Current problems will natura... be solved in New Delhi, but th... does make it clear that the com... to be expect should stand mor... from the Soviet Union.

Cuba during its term in the c... the non-aligned movement was ... delay but not to prevent this tren...

Whether the movement succ... reinvigorating itself will dep... what happens in the years ahead.

They will pose a major chall... India as chairman and each ind... non-aligned country and its p... The New Delhi summit will be ... test.

Klaus Fi...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 27 Febru...)

The German Tribune

Publisher Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief ... Heinz. Editor Alexander Anthony. English ... sub-editor Simon Burnett. — Distribution ... Georgine Picone

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene ... Hamburg 76. Tel. 22 85 1. Telex 02-14733

Advertising rates list No. 14 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich ... Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by ... MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York 10011

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE ... published in cooperation with the editorial ... leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of ... ny. They are complete translations of the original ... no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your ... number which appears on the wrapper ... asterisks above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Parties hold solution to public disenchantment

There was a lot of talk in the final days of the SPD/FDP coalition about public disenchantment with the ... The parties warned each other not to go on fueling this disenchantment. ... the phenomenon has nothing to do ... the state. The public is not disillusioned with the state but with the political parties.

Many people have long had the impression that the parties (whose function under Article 21 of the Constitution it is to work with the people in formulating political decisions) have in ... stripped the public of its rightful ...

Though the citizen is permitted to go to the polls from time to time, he can only choose from the candidates the parties offer.

Under Article 38 of the Constitution, those voted into office are "representatives of the whole nation and are not bound to instructions, being answerable to the dictate of their conscience only."

But the Constitution is one thing and reality another. In reality it is the party bosses and the leaders of the parliamentary groups who tell the individual MPs how to vote on any given issue in the Bundestag.

The most conspicuous expression of ... general disenchantment this has ... ised are the Greens and the Alternative Ticket with their grassroots democracy.

One of the elements of this type of democracy is that the Green representatives voted into state assemblies are rotated. Of course, such a procedure marks a breakaway from the idea of a representative democracy as outlined in the Constitution.

One could condemn the Greens for this departure from the Constitution. But it would be much more useful to ponder how to put an end to parties' overweening power without such a radical departure from the existing system. This would also end the disillusionment.

This cannot be done without considerably changing the political structure of the republic. After all, the political parties are not something that just happened. They are necessary instruments enabling us to practice a representative democracy.

The parties are the more necessary the greater the gap between the electorate — the actual sovereign of the nation — and the branches of government such as parliament and the administration.

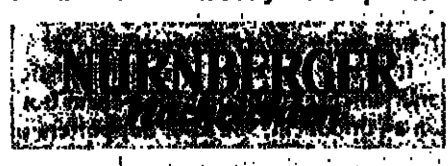
This connection between the citizen's distance from his elected representatives and the political power of the parties provides the key to the solution of the problem without changing the political structure of the republic more than necessary.

The gap between the citizen and those in political power can only be narrowed by letting the citizen make as many political decisions as possible. To achieve this, we must decentralise.

This can be done by dividing the community into many relatively small units with as much authority as possible.

These units could, for instance, be largely autonomous districts with their own assemblies and administrations.

The function of the federal states and Bonn would essentially be to provide



framework legislation and to act as coordinators.

Bonn would also have the exclusive say in matters of defence and foreign policy.

In fact, if such a setup were to come about, the states would really be redundant.

The main advantage of such a decentralised system would be that the citizens in the districts would only be expected to vote in people whom they actually know.

The result would be that many of the political decisions would no longer be made by "them up there" but by "people in our midst" — people who can easily enough be made to account for their actions.

Time would tell whether political groupings would form in these regional assemblies. In any event, there would be no need for parties in them. The parties would still play a role in the Bundestag, though they would have much less power than they have today.

Such a rearrangement of the political setup will probably never come about because the existing political institutions are too inert and the politicians themselves too unimaginative — quite apart from the fact that their minds are much too occupied with preserving their present power.

So the outlined system is little more than a thought model. But the fact that the powers that be are bound to reject it does not change the public's growing disillusionment with the parties.

The disenchantment will lead to lasting and probably growing unrest. It is quite possible that the Greens will not be as successful in the general election as they hope and the established parties fear.

This is partly due to the fact that the SPD has jumped on the Green bandwagon for some of the Green issues and partly to the political inexperience of the Greens when it comes to campaigning.

But even if the Greens were to suffer a setback this would not prove that our system with its excessive party power is right.

Anybody who rejects changes as outlined above but would like to stem the disillusionment with the parties has but one option: to introduce more direct democracy.

This could be done by frequent referendums that would curb the power and smugness of the parties.

Referendums would relieve the citizen of the present feeling of total impotence vis-a-vis the parties.

Those who want no change at all are embarking on a dangerous journey.

Tiliacus

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 15 February 1983)

Germans 'not hostile to foreigners'

Many Germans are actively trying to ease the lot of foreigners and ... about a better understanding, says ... Commissioner Liselotte Funcke.

In a brochure, she summarises the efforts on behalf of foreigners and offers suggestions on how to remove prejudi... and promote understanding.

Four hundred reports provided the information for the brochure.

She says these reports provided only a limited picture of the many efforts made on behalf of foreigners but they helped to convincingly disprove the contention that Germans are hostile to ...ns.

The brochure, with a initial circulation of 3,000 copies, contains 32 particularly interesting reports on efforts to bridge the gap. It will be sent to municipal administrations and organisations representing foreigners.

Frau Funcke welcomed the fact that ... parties have kept the foreigners ... out of their election campaigns.

She pointed out that there are now ...ually no more next-of-kin of foreigners living in this country coming to Germany.

This was important in reviewing the question whether the age limit for children joining their parents in Germany should be reduced from the present 16 ... years.

She said that she, along with the trade unions, the churches and other organisations working with foreigners, opposed a reduction of the age limit.

Her aim, she said, was to provide foreigners who have lived here for a long time with unlimited residence permits.

Repatriation could be promoted by giving foreigners from non-EEC countries the right to return to Germany should they find themselves unable to gain a foothold at home.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 February 1983)

The election: nothing will be the same again

The general election will radically change the party landscape. All parties will be faced with heavy infighting, regardless whether they win or lose. There will also be a tug-of-war over personalities.

Take the CDU. The most favourable outcome for it would be a renewal of the coalition with the FDP. They could then jointly tackle their fiscal programme and reaffirm their allegiance to Nato.

Helmut Kohl would be unchallenged as party leader for some time, and any incursions by CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, could be warded off in the usual manner: shoulder-to-shoulder with Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Things would be more difficult if the FDP failed to take to five per cent hurdle needed for representation in the Bundestag.

This could lead to a policy upheaval within the CDU should the left wing, centring around Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, find itself pushed into a corner.

If Helmut Kohl loses the election, his days as the party leader could well be numbered.

Unlike in 1980, when Strauss was defeated, there could be a clear settling of accounts between CDU and CDU.

The situation for the CSU would be similar. The main question for the party as such is whether Strauss will opt for Bonn or decide to stay in Munich.

If he goes to Bonn, the hub of political life will move with him. There would be a reshuffle in the Bavarian cabinet.

Possibly the present Finance Minister Streibl would become prime minister, Bundesrat Minister Schmidhuber would take over the Finance Ministry and State Secretary Stoiber would become the Bundesrat minister.

For the FDP, the election will indeed decide the party's survival as a political force.

It has no choice but to win or perish. Having already been ousted from four State assemblies it is hard to imagine its recovery if it now fails to make it back to the Bundestag.

This would also spell defeat for party leader Genscher's policy of "change".

It is indicative of the troubles in which the party finds itself that there is nobody in the offing who could help if the infighting breaks out again and its small reservoir of voters disperses.

And what about the SPD, which has always regarded "solidarity" as its chief virtue? Regardless whether it wins or loses, Willy Brandt's party will be faced with one of its most crucial tests of unity.

Even if chancellorship candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel were to capture the absolute majority — which is most unlikely — his position would still be precarious.

The left wingers in his party would again oppose the market economy, demand the abolition of nuclear energy and reject the stationing of the new generation of intermediate range US missiles. Even Willy Brandt could not unify the party again.

If the SPD fell short of the absolute majority and needed the Greens to form a government, the problems would be even greater.

This explains why many Social Democrats would prefer defeat.

But there is no guarantee that the ideological factionalism would not be even worse in a beaten party.

Is there any guarantee that a loser Vogel would be generally accepted as the opposition leader? And who would take Brandt's place?

There is no end of uncertainties. Perhaps the traditional three-party constellation in the Bundestag — with which our democracy has fared rather well over three decades — will soon be a thing of the past.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the situation that would ensue. Since a two-party parliament would do away with the need to compromise, a bit of liberalism would also fall away.

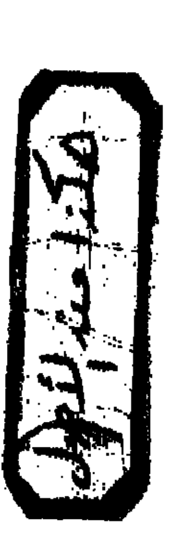
The Greens would be no replacement at all for the FDP. On the contrary.

In fact, even the Constitutional Court ruling on the dissolution of the Bundestag is not exactly a stabilising element.

This young democracy is headed for a phase of instability. Did the parties — all of whom wanted the 6 March election — take this into account?

Günther von Lojewski

(Kieler Nachrichten, 22 February 1983)



■ FOCUS

'Scientists cannot abandon responsibility' for the results of technology

Scientist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker wrote this article for *Das Parlament*.

Otto Hahn discovered nuclear fission in 1939. What the atomic bomb was capable of accomplishing was seen by the world in 1945.

To it we owe an armistice between the world powers that has lasted for over 35 years. Yet we are just as much at a loss today as we were then how to maintain the cease-fire, let alone convert it into a safe peace.

The illusion of the 1960s and 1970s that we were already living in a state of safe peace is swiftly being dispelled. I have never shared it.

The question now is how must science be conducted when it can have such political repercussions.

It evidently isn't just a matter of the atomic bomb in particular, and not even a matter of the problem of war.

We have known since the 19th century, if not earlier, that modern technology, which is only possible as a result of science, is capable of changing the world.

The change has been actively promoted in our own Western world. Our world is a scientific and technological world; we are in favour of the change.

The billions spent on scientific research are not just a means of financing cultural advancement; the economic results of science are felt to be of vital importance.

Indeed, we could no longer live our lives today without technology. But worries about the unwanted and harmful side-effects of technology are as old as technology itself.

One needs only to read the contemporaries of early industrialisation, to read Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.

The social consequences of industrialisation have been a political issue since the early Socialists and up to the welfare state and today's annual round of wage talks.

The problems of environmental pollution were also recognised at an early stage, although not as clearly as they are seen today.

They were forgotten in the wide expanses of America for a century and set aside in the euphoria of the European economic miracle for 20 years.

In this context the atomic bomb is merely an alarm signal to make us wake up to the realisation how profound the change the world has undergone already is and how deep-seated the rethink it necessitates will have to be.

There is also a moral consideration I have felt unable to disregard. It is, in a nutshell, that science is responsible for its consequences.

Let me first deal with a number of misunderstandings that might arise in connection with this tenet.

First, it is not intended to imply that scientific research has been undertaken in view of its consequences, consequences that have changed the world.

But knowledge is power even though it may not have been sought with power in mind.

I prefer inthis context to disregard the depth psychology consideration whether one ever gets anything other than what one fundamentally wants, although one may have been consciously unaware of the fact.

Moral maturity is definitely beyond reach for anyone who does not feel responsible for the factual consequences of what he does.

Imagine parents showing a three-year-old child how to light a match and returning from a walk to find their home going up in smoke.

There is no way in which this can be said to be a case of the child misusing the matches, and the analogy is one that invariably occurs to me when there is talk of the powers that be misusing science.

Second, the scientist is not legally but morally responsible for the consequences of this discovery. The clear distinction between legality and morality is one of the most important moral accomplishments of the political culture of the West.

The concept of legal responsibility relieves us of the insoluble task of taking a moral look at the hearts of our fellowmen.

By law the entrepreneur, the technician and at times the research scientist are responsible for the consequences of what they do that depend on the decisions they take in accordance with a legal definition.

Science as a whole is not legally responsible for its consequences. Moral responsibility, in contrast, basically deals with accusations I level at myself, and not at others, nor they at me, except as friends and true educationalists.

When science is attacked I will stand by it, but as a scientist among scientists I cannot absolve us of blame for the consequences good and bad to which we have given rise.

The degree of moral maturity that can be ascribed to scientists as a social group can be judged in terms of the productive responsibility for the consequences of their discoveries they assume in practice.

Third, the productive responsibility of science evidently does not mean dispensing with science. To dispense with the quest for truth would be to excise the very heart from our civilisation.

It cannot mean dispensing with the public character of science either. Dürrenmatt's *The Physicists* takes a superbly ironic look at the meaninglessness of this idea.

If you go into a lunatic asylum to hide what you have discovered the institutional doctors will merely unearth and use your secret.

Society today, with its privatisation of culture, is a variation on this lunatic asylum, and the scientist's task is both harder and finer than to dispense with discoveries would be.

The scientist as a citizen of his country and of the world must play his part in shaping the inevitable social change and change in the world by means of his prowess as an individual.

Talents will differ. Not every scientist will have the courage, the un... ing, the cunning and the leve... ness without which one canno... fully embark on political activ...

Science has in particular a sp... sponsibility for rationally ... through its own repercussions ... plications.

Only on pain of perdition c... solve itself of this responsibility.

It is to be feared that we p... the present day will learn only ... intensive suffering what we hav...

Politically the problem of ... peace order remains unsolved, ... is as true of foreign policy as it ... litary and economic policy.

These unsolved problems ... to be due to the political and ... system; in reality they are due ... ure to appreciate the circums... our existence.

The tension between scie... politics is a case in point. De... or unwittingly, the world canno... foundly changed by means of ... mon sense of science and the ... quences dealt with by means of ... rely different common sense of ... geared to conditions of the past.

Yet one cannot recommend ... with politics in scientific term... Science is not adult in itself; ... of thought, it codes of conduct ... appropriate to life in the worl... brought about.

This is but one example. Ha... understood how the common s... science and the sweet reason of ... morality are interlinked, or w... them both with the formal perc... art and the wellspring of religio... rience?

Maybe it makes sense to phi... se.

Carl Friedrich von Weiz...
(Das Parlament, 19...)

A look ahead to the new paradise

It is not that there is nothing one could learn from *Die Zukunft Deutschlands*. The book contains a wide range of interesting and stimulatingly presented chart and factual material.

Yet one wonders whether the reader will learn anything about the future of Germany from what Herman Kahn and his German journalist aide Michael Redepenning have to say.

This is not despite but largely because of the book's futurological approach.

The future prospects of a state or a nation, in this case of the Federal Republic of Germany, are based on the past, with its unmistakable variety of current flowing into perspective epoch by epoch.

Hermann Kahn and Michael Redepenning, *Die Zukunft Deutschlands. Niedergang oder neuer Aufstieg der Bundesrepublik* (The Future of Germany. Decline or Fresh Rise of the Federal Republic), published by Molden-Verlag, Munich, 368pp., DM38.

They take further shape as one present decision after another is reached, and are thus in principle an open-ended branch of history.

But for Herman Kahn history is resolved in extrapolations of existing trends (or tends discovered or claimed to be such) and alternative scenarios.

They are exclusively quantitative drafts, rendered harmless and bereft of their historic character, modelled on Max Weber's ideal types.

We are conversant with them from the nuclear war sand-table exercises that earned Professor Kahn, the director of the Hudson Institute, international acclaim.

The same methods and techniques are marketed in this, his latest book.

The past is a complex structure without which we are nothing even though we may ignore it or deny its existence and espouse an ideology of new nationhood.

For Kahn it is reduced to something that has been superseded and is to be projected into a better future, or occasionally something that persists (and has not been superseded) as a result of mishaps, catastrophes, frustrated progress.

In this case corrections must be made, backlogs made good and the level of development that has been forecast reached.

The present is for the most part a solution to the problem, bearing in mind that in American usage a faulty carburettor, one that could be repaired, is a problem in the same sense as a conflict that defies solution is.

Take two nations that lay claim to the same territory, Palestine for example. Compromises, and not a straightforward solution, are all that is possible.

"Ther German malaise," Kahn writes, "could evaporate if only the Germans were to grow tired of worrying themselves about problems and to seek solutions to them rather than pamper them."

These projections of the future are placed at the service of a theory that interprets the present and of a ... programme.

The theory is that we are at t... of a 400-year epoch of major ... that began in the 18th century ... dustrialisation and in the co... which mankind has made such ... cent progress.

In another 200 years (why i... exactly 200 Kahn fails to expl... as he fails to explain why the ... transition began 200 and not, ... years ago in the age of discove... inventions) the worst will be ov... process of education and pro... mankind.

In post-industrial society not ... ACNs, or advanced capitalist ... but also nations that at present ... backward will have attained ... prosperity and ideal living condi...

Material affluence will decline ... nificance and the contrast betwe... and poor will be resolved, as wil... ternational political confrontatio... ween what by then will be five o... perpowers.

Kahn foresees paradise not ... final target of a demanding ... as the extrapolation of constan... consistently growing national pro...

The programme amounts for th... part to combating the sole hindr... this progress of mankind from ... to wealth.

"Europe," we are told, "feels ... emaciated, sick even, and expec... ters to get worse, or its demise ... than recovery.

"Germany is pleased to feel ... first one way, then the other, and ... the future like petals: for ...

Continued on page 13



THE ENVIRONMENT

The winds of change: researchers try to harness the breezes for energy

...t is a sunny day at the university campus outside Oldenburg, with a ...e breeze blowing. The weather is ...al for the alternative energy research ...oratory.

Building cranes are buffeted by gusts ...wind at the science faculty building ...xt door, which is still under construc...n.

The energy lab is housed in a much ...ore unassuming building, and only a ...all sign points towards it.

Oldenburg University research scien...s are here looking into possible ways ...achieving self-sufficiency in alterna...e energy supplies. High winds will ...ely be welcome.

Solar cells and panels successfully ...rness energy from the Sun, but the ...nd converter is not yet working satis...ctorily.

Twenty-four metres (80ft) above the ...ound its rotors rotate merrily, but it ...s yet to generate a single watt.

Scientists are having trouble with the ...ansmission. "But we'll have that fixed ...n a few days," says Hansjörg Gabler, ...ne of the scientists in charge of the ...roject.

The energy lab is 500 square metres ...size, and its 6,000 square feet of floor ...ace are heated and powered by wind ...nd solar energy only.

It is not linked to the conventional ...ower grid. It has no outside sources of ...lectric power, heating oil or piped ...eating.

It is the first experiment of its kind in ...e Federal Republic of Germany in ...hich a combination of environmental...al power generation and energy-sav...g systems have been put through their ...ces.

Optimistic experts are confident gent... energy has a bright future. "The ...tential of regenerative energy sources ...so great," writes Herbert Seitz in the ...ischer Öko-Almanach, "that even a ...action harnessed would be enough to ...eet growing world energy demand for ...ood."

Professor Seitz is head of department ... Oldenburg. Examples of the energy ...urces he means are solar heated ...mes, wind power stations, heat ex...angers harnessing ground heat, tidal ...ergy and biomass.

They are some of the alternatives to ...n-regenerative fossil fuels and con...versial nuclear power.

Yet old prejudices still prevail in ...any cases, although a survey of wind ...ower stations in the Federal Republic ... currently being made for the Bonn ...esearch and Technology Ministry.

There is no systematic research into ...e subject just yet, merely individual ...ojets such as Growian, the king-sized ...indmill on Germany's North Sea ...oast.

Another instance is the wind wheels ...n Pellworm, an island off the North ...a coast. This project is sponsored by ...KSS, a government research centre in ...eesthacht, near Hamburg.

Oldenburg is another exception to ...e high-tech rule. When the university ...as set up in 1974, Herr Gabler and his ...olleagues wanted to do something ...ew, "something meaningful in physics," as he puts it.

Eight years later their ideas were put ...nto practice. The octagonal laboratory ...uilding reminiscent in design of ancient Roman atrium houses was completed last November.

The aim of the project is outlined in its first report:

"With the aid of the energy laboratory we hope to find out what technology systems are most suitable to ensure maximum energy self-sufficiency for domestic and industrial consumers in the climatic conditions of north-west Germany."

The laboratory building, completely cut off from outside sources of energy, is intended for use not only as a teaching and research facility but also as an interdisciplinary research centre.

Ninety square metres (1,080 square feet) of solar panels line the south side of the building. They are deep black panels generating five kilowatts when the Sun shines on them.

They are linked to three interlinked tanks full of 145 cubic metres of water, and water pumps ensure that enough energy is stored in summer to keep power and heating going in winter.

From the planning stage the research scientists took care to ensure the building incorporated all manner of energy-saving features.

It has double glazing, special insulation and threefold interlocking building sections.

It is shielded to the north, east and west by grass-covered embankments that form a climate buffer zone ensuring that temperatures inside the building do not vary much.

The architects also sought to ensure that surface areas as large as possible were put to use in harnessing solar power indirectly.

The greenhouse effect will be intensified even further once the laboratory roof is fully covered in vegetation.

Even though the wind converter is out of order there is no shortage of direct current to power the facilities; 104 lead batteries store enough power to keep the lab under power for three to four days.

In meteorological terms this is an appropriate length of time. A trough of low pressure accompanied by strong winds in northern Germany generally lasts about four days.

The 104 commercial vehicle batteries arrayed in a double row 15 metres long may seem an expensive arrangement but, as Herr Gabler sadly says, "a better technique has yet to be devised."

Besides, their combined energy fully charged is barely enough to power a car the 150km from Hamburg to Oldenburg and back, a total of 200 miles.

But the windmill is not the only source of energy to power the Oldenburg energy lab. Nearly 50 square metres, or 600 square feet, of solar cells generate a constant power reserve.

What if the Sun isn't shining and there is no wind? "Then," Herr Gabler admits, "we have to use our auxillary engine, which is powered by propane gas, as an emergency generator."

He and his associates are annoyed at having to fall back on this counter-argument to their claims to be self-sufficient in power.

This year the team of physicists, biologists, chemists and computer scientists plan to produce their own gas.

They are growing plants containing fat, sugar and cellulose on a plot behind the laboratory building, mainly sunflowers and sugar beet.

The biomass is intended to generate enough gas to power the emergency generator whenever the sky is overcast. The power system will then combine three sources of regenerative energy: solar, wind and biomass power.

The Oldenburg boffins are not unduly interested in ideal results in the strict engineering sense. What interests them is to combine and interlock systems.

Heating and power production, for instance, are combined as soon as more electric power is generated than is consumed at a given time and the surplus cannot be stored because the batteries are fully charged.

This will especially be the case on warm but windswept summer days. "When the batteries are full," Herr Gabler says, "we can increase the storage temperature in the tanks via the heat pumps."

The Oldenburg team have worked out by computer simulation how the system of environmentally sound small-scale techniques will one day work.

They did so before practical experiments even began in the energy laboratory. So they know where how much of each kind of energy goes, how laboratory temperatures vary over the year and how power consumption will develop.

Their estimates have so far been confirmed in practical trials, which would seem to justify their research work. "Wind and solar power," Herr Gabler says the graphs show, "are an ideal combination in this part of the world."

Their work is nothing if not socially relevant, they feel. They are, after all, in favour of alternative technology. But as a university department there are limits to how far they can go.

They are experimenting with alternative forms of energy in alternative conditions, but with conventional, scientifically established methods.

That is why Herr Gabler feels he can fairly claim to be an ordinary research scientist and university teacher.

"A postgraduate student must remain a student," he says, "and a degree here is comparable with a degree at any other university.

"We may come in for criticism from a number of conservative physicists, but looking into regenerative sources of energy is gradually becoming acceptable.

"The German Physics Association recently dealt with the subject for the first time at one of its conferences."

A detailed long-term Oldenburg survey is due for completion at the end of next year. The laboratory has so far cost DM2m, which Herr Gabler feels is an average price for facilities of its kind.

There will not be much more expenditure, although a French firm has to be called in to repair the wind generator. German firms do not seem very interested in small-scale technology.

Why should they be when large-scale projects can land them king-size orders that earn them a small fortune fast and with ease?

Bernd Müllender
(Die Zeit, 11 February 1983)

There's cash in the trash

The mediaeval alchemists' dream of making gold out of dross has come true in Frankfurt, which is doing a brisk and lucrative trade in household garbage.

Recycling is very much in fashion, and Frankfurt sells its trash to the highest bidder. Waste paper earns DM40 a ton and waste glass DM20 a ton.

Several streets in a Frankfurt suburb have been supplied with experimental dustbins in different colours to see whether people are prepared to lend a hand with the sorting.

One bin is for waste paper, one for glass and a third for assorted household garbage. Nine-month trials were extremely successful.

So Peter Jäkel, head of the city's refuse disposal department, has decided to introduce three colours of dustbin all over Frankfurt as soon as possible.

Last May, when the city started the experiment in Oberrad, a garden suburb, by issuing every other household with extra dustbins, people were sceptical.

Ordinary dustbins are grey, the glass containers blue, the waste paper containers green.

"People won't be bothered," many said. "They will continue to put all their rubbish in one bin. The city will still have to spend a packet on sorting the garbage."

Special containers for waste paper and glass are already to be found at strategic points all over the city, but only 1.5 per cent of Frankfurt's waste paper and 1.1 per cent of its waste glass seem to find their way into them.

But these special containers are often too far away from homes and the nearest conventional dustbin.

As soon as the Oberrad experiment was ended and declared to have been a success the municipal authorities set about checking the accounts.

They spent a fortnight weighing the garbage in the test area and concluded that householders had sorted out and separately disposed of more than a third of their garbage.

Waste paper making up 23 per cent of the combined total had been put in the green bins provided, while glass making up 14 per cent of the total had found its way into the blue dustbins.

This was a much better showing than anyone had expected. Earnings could go into the millions if people were as tidy all over Frankfurt.

Herr Jäkel decided to err on the safe side and work on the assumption that people would only sort out 20 per cent of waste paper and glass.

Yet 20 per cent of Frankfurt's annual 550,000 tons of domestic garbage could in this way be recycled and raise DM3.68m.

The profits would be even higher. Garbage sold for recycling doesn't need to be dumped or incinerated. The 110,000 tons recycled would mean a further saving of DM10.8m in dumping and DM8.8m in incinerator costs.

The scheme will cost money too, of

Continued on page 13

■ RESEARCH

Bonn plan to lure genetic engineering experts home

Frankfurter Rundschau

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (CDU) plans to set up regional genetic engineering centres in Germany to encourage research scientists to return home from the United States.

But he has no intention of amending existing guidelines to rule out the risks it is generally agreed might arise from work on biological technology of this kind.

He is convinced bio-engineering will be a key technology in the decades ahead, playing as crucial a role as chemistry has done in 20th-century industrial development.

So he intends to give priority to the development of valuable pharmaceutical products and to plant breeding. Genetic engineering is capable of producing crop plants with a high yield or particularly resistant to pests.

It may also result in the development of plants that make chemical fertilisers, which are such a burden on the environment, largely unnecessary by absorbing nitrogen directly.

The manufacture of artificial insulin, Herr Riesenhuber says, is a fine example of the new avenues in dealing with nature that can be opened up by means of bio-engineering.

He also aims to encourage the development of cell culture methods as an alternative to experiments with laboratory animals.

Herr Riesenhuber has commissioned a report from 10 scientific and industrial experts on further aspects of bio-engineering and gene technology that deserve priority.

The experts are to submit recommendations by this summer.

Application-orientated basic research badly needs promoting if the Federal Republic of Germany is to remain internationally competitive, he feels.

Over the past three years Germany has been out of the running internationally, with German chemical manufacturers commissioning research from US laboratories.

In bio-engineering the Federal Republic also has ground to regain on Britain, France and Japan.

The Minister hopes to persuade specialists in genetic engineering in particular to return by means of special job offers and research conditions.

New regional research centres in Cologne and Heidelberg, subsidised by the Bonn Research Ministry, could provide attractive jobs for scientists who have gone to work in the United States in recent years.

Herr Riesenhuber hopes to set up a third regional genetic engineering research in Munich in collaboration with the Max Planck Society, a scientific research association.

His Ministry backs the work of the Biological Research Society in Brunswick and would like to see it assume an intermediary role linking basic research and applications-orientated research.

The Brunswick research institute is superbly equipped and does not yet have many contract arrangements with industrial clients.

Herr Riesenhuber would like to set up a gene bank for scientific and industrial use in Brunswick. It could supply micro-organisms and cell cultures for laboratory work, for instance.

He has no intention of either relaxing or tightening up the existing regulations to provide protection from the risks bio-engineering might entail.

The regulations as they stand are fine, he feels. They lay down the screening arrangements to ensure there is a cordon sanitaire round research laboratories where genetic experiments are carried out.

They also specify the safety precautions in dealing with bacteria.

Experiments on humans are conceivable at some future date, so Herr Riesenhuber proposes to clarify in fundamental debate with scientists and theologians the limits to manipulation in genetic engineering.

On no account, he says, must there be any question of experiments involving changes in the human genetic make-up.

Gerda Strack

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 February 1983)

War declare[d] on acid rain, the tree kille[r]

DIE WELT

Bonn is to adopt a four[...] proach in dealing with a[...] fall, the tree-killer, says Resea[...] Technology Minister Heinz R[...] ber.

He outlined proposals at a p[...] ference held to mark publicatio[...] interim report on the forest [...] congress held at Jülich nuclear [...] centre at the end of January and [...] ed by 500 scientists.

Research into the causes of [...] seases were to be given absolut[...] ty, with funds being earmarked [...] ting allocations to other projects [...] be.

Headway had already been [...] improving environmental mea[...] power stations. Trials of fertili[...] to counteract the effects of acid [...] on forest soil must be underta[...] gently.

In the longer term attention [...] given to breeding tougher st[...] tree.

Scientists in all disciplines [...] forces, as they were doing at [...] efforts were to be crowned with [...]

A European congress along [...] of the Jülich gathering is to [...] later this year.

(Die Welt, 17 Feb[...])

THE CINEMA

Hoffmann won't win the Bear despite brilliant festival display

Only veterans of the Berlin film festival will possibly be able to judge [wh]ether it has ever got off to such an [en]tertaining start as this year.

Tootsie, directed by Sydney Pollack [...] starring Dustin Hoffman in a dou[ble] role as both a man and a woman, [...] be seen by German cinemagoers [o]n 25 March.

[...]is brilliant, and it is hard to say [...]h of Hoffman's two parts is more [...]htful. We are sure to hear more of [...]film when it is networked.

Hoffman would have been almost [cer]tain of the Berlin Bear award for the [...]t acting performance had the film [bee]n shown as an official US entry.

The Americans have always been [wa]ry of film festival criticism, but they [...]d have had no fears in this case.

Maybe they don't feel their actors [ha]ve it in them now a former screen [act]or has made it from Hollywood to [th]e White House.

Maybe, for that matter, President [R]eagan's career proves they underrate [th]eir movie stars. At all events *Tootsie* [w]as not an official entry.

Neither were German films such as [*Wa*]*r and Peace*, directed by Alexander [Kl]uge, Volker Schlöndorff and others, [an]d *Real Time*, directed by Hellmuth [Co]stard and Jürgen Ebert.

Real time is a computer term, and the [fil]m is a not entirely successful bid to star technology in a science fiction context.

Ambitious though it is, it is also a somewhat homely mosaic of an ingenuous German kind. The idea may be original, but that is about as far as it goes.

What Costard and Ebert basically lack is imagination. Friederike Pezold, the director of *Canale Grande*, has no lack of it.

It is as though she lived not only in Vienna, Munich and Berlin but also in a realm of fantasy.

Filmed by camerawoman and co-director Elfi Mikesch, she wanders around with an antenna on her head transmitting her own private TV programme.

Canale Grande is the name she chooses for her own private TV channel. It is also the name of the film, shown at the Young Film Forum, part of the accompanying festival programme.

She is a woman with her own programme, and not just TV. It is neither long-winded nor intent on emancipation, preferring to be entertaining, disrespectful and unmistakably sceptical.

But what a wealth of feeling, and what an overwhelming sense of imagery, which is just as it should be for a creative artist!

Frau Pezold favours collage, individual scenes and fragments. She is not keen on direct links. They are established time and again, but by her personally, not by a plot.

It is hard to say whether her film will be networked commercially. It certainly deserves it. It was the most surprising event at the Forum.

It was down to earth yet imaginative, realistic and at the same time ironically exaggerating reality, directed by a woman who is everywhere. She invents new ideas and rediscovers old ones. She is a great-granddaughter of Karl Valentin, the Munich cabaret star, and a cousin of Herbert Achternbusch, the Bavarian film director.

An emancipatory film in another sense is the best way to describe the first German official entry, *Utopia*, directed by Sohrab Shahid Saless.

But it is unlikely to win a Bear award. Length is probably the only superlative to which it can lay claim. *Utopia* wavers undecidedly between genres.

It tells the tale of women in a brothel who decide to end their troubles by killing their brutal pimp. But because they have learnt nothing better they carry on working as prostitutes under the regimentation of his favourite girl.

As a parable of emancipation the tale carries little conviction; the exemplary character of the story would appear too blunt and outmoded.

Taken merely as an extended story, the film portrays different women with different life stories who fail to get out of the mess they are in (a mess for which they themselves are largely to blame).

They don't really want to, except in their dreams. The result is a melodrama in which the pimp fittingly meets his death in the protracted manner one might associate with a Wagner hero.

The acting varies. Manfred Zapatka as the pimp avoids being dismissed as a mere criminal. He is also a hard-working businessman who never finishes work before half past six.

He consoles himself by occasionally availing himself of his staff's services.

But as the screenplay drives him in a leisurely but inexorable way from one foul deed to another not much remains of Zapatka's attempts to play a more rounded character.

Even less will be left, I fear, when *Utopia* enters the lists for its share of the film festival awards.

Good directors are often a disappointment with poor films at festivals.

The first case in point was *Pauline à la plage*, a holiday tale and love story directed by Eric Rohmer. It is the third of his Comedies and Proverbs series.

But it fails to equal the charm and sustained freshness of the first part, *La femme de l'aviateur*, shown at the Forum last year.

Hécate, by Daniel Schmid of Switzerland, was unlucky with love too. It is a love story of antiquity and suitably antiquated, but it and its cast remain superficial.

These are films that are unlikely to give their directors much joy. People who covered this year's Berlin film festival had little either, apart from films that were not official entries.

Eberhard Seybold

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 February 1983)

'War and Peace', a tenuous link with Tolstoy

War and Peace, the third film jointly directed by Alexander Kluge, [V]olker Schlöndorff and Stefan Aust, [sh]ares with Tolstoy only the title and, at [lea]st, the epic width.

Like its predecessors, *Germany in* [*A*]*utumn* and *The Candidate*, it deals [wi]th topical issues in a mixture of docu[me]ntation and play, fact and comment.

The latest topic is the peace move[me]nt and missile modernisation, Ger[ma]n worries in a difficult geographical [pos]ition, strategic exigencies and the re[qu]irements of worldwide power poli[ti]cs.

It could also be said to deal with war [as s]uch and what it entails. It is certain[ly] a wide-ranging topic, not to say a [va]gue one.

Germany in Autumn dealt with the [ab]duction and murder of Cologne em[pl]oyers' leader Hanns Martin Schleyer [an]d the suicide of urban guerrilla lea[d]ers in Stammheim prison, Stuttgart.

It reflected immediate concern and [wo]rry as to what was to become of the [co]untry.

The Candidate dealt with the Bava[ri]an Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss [as] Opposition leader and Shadow [Cha]ncellor in the 1980 general election [ca]mpaign.

Its express purpose was to help to en[su]re that he lost the election, which in [th]e event he did: Helmut Schmidt was elected.

In *War and Peace* the trio of directors [se]em soon to have realised that they [we]re dealing with issues that went fur[th]er than mobilisation of opinion [ag]ainst missile modernisation.

But we are in the middle of a general [el]ection campaign again and Chancel[lo]r Kohl does not fare too well in the [fi]lm, which will hardly surprise those [w]ho know the film-makers.

The issue indeterminately ranges from the current political position to the philosophy of war. It prompts a series of answers that are not always reconcilable.

Kluge, for instance, is not convinced that mankind faces imminent disaster. He feels Armageddon would run counter to evolution.

In formal terms he finds it hard to portray peace, whereas Aust disagrees. Unlike Schlöndorff, he feels it is essential to show pictures of war.

Aust, a TV journalist, banks on hard fact. The two cinema film directors, in contrast, are interested in what is prompted in the mind of the onlooker.

So the outcome is not a uniform one, which is not a pity; it makes the film more appealing, if anything.

But why does much of the film convey the impression of being made up of bits arbitrarily put together as though it were some kind of mannerism?

Why, when Chancellor Kohl is welcomed by President Reagan, is there an unexpected transition from celluloid to video?

What point is there in high-speed shots of German traffic shown in the wing mirror of a moving car?

What are the reasons for shots of the planet Saturn, of shots intentionally made out of focus, of shots of a toy gymnast on the horizontal bars?

Yet the film starts with a straightforward statement, although there are some omissions to ensure that it conveys credibility.

If the Americans were only to clear off and take their missiles with them, the message goes, the Germans could get back to making cooking pots out of artillery shells as they did in 1945.

We are then shown what is what about missile modernisation, the Pershing 2, Cruise missiles and Helmut Kohl playing at being a good boy on the White House lawn.

It is unfair, to say the least, to refer to missile modernisation without even once mentioning the SS-20. This is surely a parish-pump attitude that is so particularly German.

This section of the film, directed by Aust, includes two items well worth seeing. They are an interview with Sam Cohen and a CBS documentary on US nuclear planning in Germany.

Cohen had much to do with the development of the neutron bomb and is seen very much as a merchant of death. He is convinced there is going to be a nuclear war.

But it is going to be over in Europe, which is tough for the Europeans. Still, the neutron bomb merely kills enemy soldiers and does not damage civilian private property.

What about Mr Cohen's family? Why, they don't much mind what he does. As for the CBS documentary about US Army plans for Germany, why don't we get to see it on TV in this country?

But then the film is progressively submerged in a deluge of film clips. One increasingly senses the direction of Alexander Kluge, whose work has as much in common with conventional films as free verse does with Goethe.

Inserts follow in swift succession, with quotes ranging from Adorno to Clausewitz (not forgetting quotes from Kluge himself).

Alienation is provided by deliberately poor focussing and artificial colouring of old German wartime newsreel footage. His is cinema for the intellectual as usual.

There is no longer the slightest sense of immediate and person concern, of the idea that the issues dealt with concern you and me.

The further the film progresses, the greater this impression becomes. We are shown two scenes taken from Heinrich Böll: spacecraft, one American and one Russian, stranded in space after a nuclear holocaust has wiped the world out, and a man shooting his sister, who wants to be allowed into his fallout shelter but is contaminated.

Schlöndorff then shows us scenes taken from last year's Versailles Western economic summit, satirically lampooned, one is bound to admit.

To make his footage fit the topic, Kluge calls to mind economic warfare, which was not on the Versailles agenda, mind you.

We are shown in between scenes shot by Schlöndorff on location in Lebanon, where he made his film bases on Nicolas Born's novel *The Forgery*.

They make a neat counterpart to the Versailles summit, but so what?

All in all, *War and Peace* is a collection of material put together by dint of hard work but has bitten off more than it can chew in its choice of subject.

Ekkehard Böhm

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 February 1983)

■ THE ARTS/PHILOSOPHY

Ideology dominates the Wagner centenary

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

It was 100 years on February 13 since Richard Wagner died in Venice; and the flood of Wagneria in the form of new biographies, studies, mammoth TV presentations of his musical dramas and a multi-part TV series on his life is far from subsiding.

It is not surprising that the current Wagner discussion is dominted by ideological interpretations of the composer, dramatist and stage practitioner.

Among the more noteworthy works here are Adorno's perspicacious Essay on Wagner, the admiringly detached biography by Martin Gregor-Dellin and the profoundly researched studies by Hans Mayer and Peter Wapnewski.

It has come as a surprise to no-one that ever since Hartmut Zelinsky's collection of Wagner material, published in 1980 under the title *Richard Wagner — ein deutsches Thema* (Richard Wagner — A German Topic), and the publication of Cosima Wagner's diaries the discussion has centred around Wagner's continued political and philosophical effects.

Wagner as the founder of a religion, an ideological high priest and an advocate of a somewhat confused national culture thus triumphs over the composer and librettist whose artisan's self-discipline produced no less than 13 monumental operas.

It remains wide open whether such a narrowing of Wagner to his effects on his contemporaries and on posterity does justice to his life's work.

More than the other theory-bound artists of the 19th century — they included Berlioz and Liszt — Wagner's work must be viewed detached from its theoretical foundations if a general assessment is to be arrived at.

Anybody who has seen Wagner's handwritten scores, even the most preliminary of drafts, will readily admit to their intense clarity.

This rebuts the detractors (like the music critic and Brahms fan Eduard Hanslick) who, even during the composer's lifetime, maintained that his heady sound effects were shapeless and intuitive.

On the contrary, Adorno has conclusively proved that even the more mature of Wagner's works are based on a "four-part harmony to which he adhered as a school of thought" and that he deliberately took this to the very edges of atonality ("ambiguity here becomes an element of expression").

A calculated headiness? This is certainly one aspect of Wagner's multi-voice approach — an aspect that would seem to substantiate Zelinsky's accusation that Wagner made deliberate use of music as a kind of heady drug and a vehicle for his *weltanschauung*.

But there is also another Wagner; a Wagner of quiet chamber music moments. For instance, at the beginning of the Dutchman-Senta duet; in the plaint of the English horn in the 3rd Act of "Tristan"; in the cello solo in the 1st Act of "The Valkyrie"; in Siegfried's dialogue with the forest bird; and in the subdued wind instruments of the "Good Friday Magic." All this proves that the pomp and the headiness are suspended time and again and made transparent.

Anybody who reduces Wagner to the function of a founder of a new religion of art (as propagated by Cosima) — a religion that is a personal blend of boundless romanticism and shallow nationalism — *strips his works of the progressive elements that have made them* a monument of German music history in the industrial age.

Had we taken his stage directions seriously — and they are the weakest part of his overall work — we would have had to forgo the exciting scenic interpretations of "The Ring" By Wieland Wagner (Valhalla as Wall Street) and by Patrice Chéreau.

If this had happened, the beneficiary would not have been Bayreuth (which under Wolfgang Wagner became an exemplary talent forge) but such Wagner epigones as Hans Jürgen Syberberg who uses another medium in which to employ Wagner's music as a vehicle to sell himself and build up a Wagner-like following.

There is no denying the fact that Wagner was the most German of all composers and that some phases in his life's work contained a nationalist component that has its explanation in his time in history, the romanticism of young Germans on the one hand and the sated pathos that went with the founding of the Reich.

Stage practitioners of today would be well advised to neutralise parts of the text found in "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin" and "The Mastersingers" in such a way as to preclude their being used as political statements that could be ideologically abused.

We are still too close to "The Mastersingers" performances at Nazi mass rallies and the overemphasis of the "German and genuine" in Hans Sachs' closing address still lingers in our ears. Herbert von Karajan still demanded this in 1951 in Bayreuth (still available in a recording) and even in Salzburg in 1974.

Richard Wagner today is perhaps the last monumental link in Europe's cultural history; and Richard Wagner yesterday can be summed up as an ideologist of art with the lifelong delusion of a Jewish conspiracy. It is this Wagner of yesterday that was exploited by nationalists of all political persuasions and cited as testimony to racism.

It is harder with Wagner than with any other composer before and after him to separate life and work, theory and effect — not least because he was always a lone revolutionary, committed only to his work and the driv[...] realisation. This applied to [...] both before and after he was [...]ed.



Richard Wagner . . . an histori[...] nation. (Pho[...])

This being so, Wagner's life[...] future generations remain m[...] insoluble contradictions and [...] will be marked by formal co[...] and a theory of art ranging fro[...] to confusion.

Our greatest benefit lies in [...] that his works encourage even [...]nic solutions.

Christian Herch[...]
(Handelsblatt, 11 Fe[...])

Man who took ideas to the market place

The philosopher Karl Jaspers was born 100 years ago, on 23 February 1883.

"The Future of Germany," "The Future of Mankind," "Hope and Worry" — the man who in such works commented on everyday political life in post-war West Germany was neither a historian nor a political publicist.

He was one of the most important philosophers of our country, a close friend of Martin Heidegger (until 1933) and co-founder of German existentialist philosophy.

Born in Oldenburg, the son of a liberally minded banker, Karl Jaspers undertook to make philosophy a public affair and, as he put it "take it from the universities to the marketplace."

Having originally studied medicine and law, Jaspers worked as a psychiatrist at the Heidelberg University Hospital. In 1922, he was given the philosophy chair at the university.

Even his early critical attempt to establish the limits of psychological sensations borders on philosophy and is regarded as the first document of German existential philosophy. The book was entitled "Psychology of World Views."

For Jaspers, "existence" means the individual nature of man that cannot be pinpointed with the methods of empirical science.

Jaspers' philosophy was derived from the needs of man rather than undertaking to develop a "system" of its own.

In his main work "Philosophy" (German edition published in 1931) he follows the classical three-part structure of metaphysics: "World Orientation" stakes out the limits of human knowledge; "Existence Insights" attempts to delineate the freedom of the individual and, finally, "Metyphysics" asks about the meaning of transcendence, i.e. an existence beyond the empirical world experienced by man.

Communication — a term now widely abused by the media — plays a central role in Jaspers' philosophy.

Karl Jaspers . . . accent on the needs of man. (Photo: Archiv)

For him, communication means attaining freedom through the experience of borderline situations such as sorrow, guilt and death: "We exist by trying to realise our freedom."

This outline of a philosophy was rounded off by viewing the individual in the context of the world as a whole in such works as "Of Truth," "The Origin und Goal of History" and "Philosophical Faith and Revelation".

While Karl Jaspers, working in the ivory tower of his alma mater, put his stamp on Europe's intellectual climate in the first half of this century, the Nazi barbarism intruded even into his tower.

The new rulers regarded him as an enemy of the state — not least because he remained loyal to his wife Gertrude whom he had married in 1910 and who was part Jewish.

Jaspers was forced into premature retirement in 1937. At that time, [...] Arendt, his favourite disciple, [...] talk him into emigrating. But he [...]ed what he called the "inner [...] defended the idea of suicide as [...]nified anticipation of execution [...] form whatsoever."

It was for such a contingency [...] always kept poison handy th[...] was spared having to use it.

It was in those days that he [...] "The experience of the Nazi [...] given me a new maxim . . . eve[...] have been asking philosophers [...] their political views and actions."

Thus the ivory tower scholar [...] into a committed political writer [...] was as such that he was reins[...] Heidelberg in 1945. He later [...] Basle, Switzerland, where he [...] university and where he died in [...] always a critical companion to [...]ny's young democracy. It was no[...]lity but concern that made him [...]

A rather conservative thin[...] warned of a possible excessive p[...] the political parties in the Fed[...]public of Germany. But politic[...]ther ignored him or brushed hi[...] as unrealistic.

His arguments for an against [...] of nuclear weapons (in "The Fu[...] Mankind") earned him the s[...] amongst anti-nukes that he wa[...]vour of a nuclear war along the [...] his freedom philosophy.

But there is something pro[...] about those last works of his [...] he predicted mass unemployment [...] consequence of budding autom[...] the time and foresaw dangers [...] from the unbridled recruiting of [...] workers.

Karl Jaspers did not leave a "p[...]phical school" behind nor did he [...] belong to one.

He did, however, throw pebbles [...] the pond of our smugness — p[...] that caused their ripples. Have w[...]gotten them?

Hans J[...]
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine [...] 22 Febru[...])

MODERN LIVING

Help for the aged at the push of a button

[T]he city of Frankfurt and AEG-Telefunken have developed a tele[ph]one-linked emergency service for [old] people that increases their indepen[den]ce and can delay their admission to [ho]mes for the old.

[K]ey to the scheme is the *Funkfinger[sen]sor* (literally, radio-finger sensor) [whic]h is a small plastic container no [bigg]er than a cigarette pack.

[I]t is worn round the neck day and [nigh]t while the subscriber is at home or [in] the garden. At the push of a button, [he] or she can speak immediately to the [eme]rgency service.

If the user pushes the button in an [eme]rgency but cannot speak, the appa[rat]us reacts accordingly and the service [op]erator can immediately retrieve from [a] computer information such as name, [ad]dress, age, sicknesses, name of doctor [an]d helpful neighbours.

"The system gets old people out of [th]eir shells if they are living in fear and isolation," says Volkard May, deputy chairman of the Frankfurt Association for Aid to Old People, which has been commissioned by the city to run the service.

"Subscribers can often put off for years going to a home. Our experience so far (the project began last September) has been so positive that I can fully recommend the general introduction of the system as an alternative to hospital or a home."

Funkfinger is the most spectacular part of a pilot project launched by Frankfurt and AEG-Telefunken last September.

All that is required is for the subscriber to have a telephone because the communications link between the apartment and the emergency service runs via the phone.

Essentially, *Funkfinger* consists of the emergency button, a microphone and a loudspeaker. The microphone is only activated when the button is pressed, preventing any inadvertant eavesdropping.

When the button is pressed, it takes barely a second to establish voice contact between the home and the emergency service.

A "going out" button tells the service that the user is going out.

If the user is unable to talk, *Funkfinger* takes over automatically as soon as the button has been pressed, informing the service that there is an emergency. The service operator has a computerised data bank giving information such as name, address, age, ailments, medication used, doctor, helpful neighbours, etc.

This enables the service to provide help within minutes even if the subscriber can no longer speak.

There have been few really dramatic life-and-death situations since the project that now has 150 subscribers was launched. The system that started with five subscribers is built on a module basis and can be expanded to encompass 2,000.

Volkard May: "Only once did we have an emergency call followed by silence. What happened was that an old lady had fallen out of her wheelchair. We found her lying unconscious on the floor."

Funkfinger leaves next to nothing to chance. Every device has a "morning button" that tells the service that "all is well". If the "all well" call does not come through in the morning, the service instantly dispatches a helper.

Rarely is one of the approximately 20 emergency calls a day dramatic. The old people use *Funkfinger* as a "window to the outside world" — asking for various services such as nurses, social workers, etc.

For example, a 78-year-old woman returns home after a long stay in hospital. She is still weak and finds it hard to cope with everyday chores. Plagued by fear, depression and pain, she presses the *Funkfinger* emergency button daily. It is not as if she needed a doctor. All she wants is someone to talk to.

Since she finds it hard to cope, her laundry just keeps mounting. Her call usually boils down to a desperate: "What am I to do?"

The service operator has an easy solution to her problems. He sends a conscientious objector doing social work in lieu of military service.



At home with an easy mind . . . a *Funkfinger* user wearing the device which means that help is available at a touch. (Photo: dpa)

The visitor collects the laundry and takes it to friends who have a washing machine. Eventually, the visits become institutionalised. He comes regularly to do household chores and shopping.

"The unique thing about the service is that it combines all forms of assistance for old people such as cleaning and laundry services, food deliveries, housework, etc.," says May.

"This constant availability of somebody to talk to involves the danger that old people will no longer try to establish outside contacts because they rely on us. And that must be prevented."

To remedy this, the service tries to find a helpful neighbour for every subscriber. In order to be able to help round the clock, the neighbour is given a key to the old person's apartment.

The subscription fee for the whole service is DM115 a month; 60 per cent of the Frankfurt subscribers pay this themselves. Forty per cent have it paid by the welfare department.

May attributes the fact that there are only 150 subscribers in a city the size of Frankfurt to the reluctance of old people to ask the Welfare Department for financial assistance.

"Most of the potential subscribers to the service are too poor to raise the DM115 a month. They belong to a generation that considers any form of financial aid demeaning. There is also the fact that most of them don't know that the service exists and that they could have somebody ready to talk to them day and night." *Walter Gutermuth*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 February 1983)

No. 2 at UN

Continued from page 4

[ot]her points that now form part of in[ter]national law.

But the last word has yet to be spo[k]en by the Bonn government and the [B]undestag.

Herr Fleischhauer, who comes from [Dü]sseldorf, has been associated with [ma]jor bilateral negotiations, including [ta]lks with Moscow and Warsaw.

Recalling the East Bloc treaties sign[e]d in the detente era, he says: "The [tr]eaty policy laid a groundwork that [wi]ll prove to be of lasting substance."

He recalls as a moving moment the [su]ccessful bid to come to terms with [Po]land on exit permits for ethnic Ger[m]ans. Herr Fleischhauer is 53.

He sees the change-over to internatio[na]l officialdom as a major challenge to [pla]y a part in fulfilling the duties of the [U]nited Nations from the other side of [th]e barricade, as it were.

His first assignment will be to open [th]e UN conference on succession of [sta]tes with regard to property, archives [an]d debts in Vienna.

On behalf of UN secretary-general [Pé]rez de Cuéllar he will open the pro[cee]dings of a conference that will in ef[fec]t mark a further step toward decolo[nis]ation.

Gitta Bauer
(Die Welt, 12 February 1983)

Brain damage in the young

About 20 per cent of Germany's children have organic brain damage in [so]me form.

Some of the less serious damage is [du]e to heredity and some to prenatal [m]alformations due to environmental [el]ements, the European Seminar on De[ve]lopment Neurology in Hamburg has [be]en told by Inge Flehming, head of the [Ha]mburg Institute for Development [N]eurology.

She called alcohol and smoking (in[cl]uding passive smoking) the most im[p]ortant risk factors during pregnancy.

dpa
(Rheinische Post, 16 February 1983)

Paradise

Continued from page 8

against growth; for atomic energy, against atomic energy."

Germany is said not to face either alarming difficulties, let alone unsolvable ones, yet to be threatened by a pessimism that could turn out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In lengthy chapters the whole gamut of problems with Germany as a fatherland in recent years is outlined; the crisis of identity, the national deficit, the lack of a capital city, the fear of the future and the nuclear panic.

"The likelihood of war is less today than at any time since the end of the Second World War," and nations would stage a swift recovery even after a nuclear war. a swift recovery oven after a nuclear war.

Then there is the feeling that the end of the world is nigh, prompted by essays in cultural criticism such as Limits to Growth and Global 2000 that are taken at face value. are taken at face value.

There is the business community's reluctance to run a risk, the imminent technological backwardness of a progressive nation that is too scared to venture into the high tech of the future.

There is the growing "take" mentality of young people who are growing up in a welfare state. There are the dropouts and their mental outlook. And so on.

The real risk of the 200-year paradise scenario not taking its course is that of progressive nations taking it easy too soon and feeling too early on that economic growth must be called to a halt.

"If the world were to yield prematurely to the temptations of the leisure and post-industrial society the result would probably be ongoing stagnation.

"On the other hand the 1980s present an opportunity of swift and lasting growth, based in part on new technologies, of innovation, investment and productivity.

Poorer strata and nations will be deprived of the opportunity of continuing their progress, fast or slow, for which the rich countries paved the way. An end to growth by the ACNs means an end to development for the poorer countries." So no effort must be spared to maintain continued growth.

It is a woolly approach in many ways, yet Kahn's theories include a number of ideas and suggestions that are worth considering and bearing in mind, especially on what are largely home-made German fears and on the need for peformance and growth.

Peter Coulmas
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 January 1983)

There's cash in the trash

Continued from page 9

course. The old refuse disposal trucks can no longer be used. New ones with three separate compartments are needed.

Existing trucks can be converted for DM17,000 each, so the city would need to earmark DM1.4m for conversion of its fleet of 80 dustbin vans.

Three separate dustbins are bound to need more dustmen. Herr Jäkel says he will probably need to hire another 80 men, meaning an extra DM3m or so in wages per year.

The 20,000 new blue and green dustbins will have to be provided free if people are going to cooperate, but at a mere DM18 each the unit cost is not too high.

The problem is that waste paper and glass collected free will mean less garbage collected in return for a fee in the normal way.

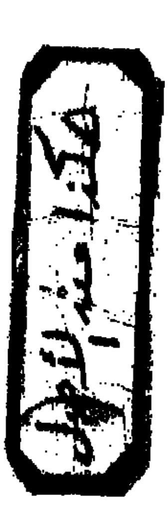
So Herr Jäkel has had to work on the assumption that people will be paying DM5.16m less in refuse collection dues as a result of the change.

Yet there seems sure to be a net saving in the end. In Frankfurt's case it ought to amount to at least DM2m a year.

Besides, if between 20 and 35 per cent of domestic waste is recycled instead of being dumped or incinerated the environment is bound to benefit.

Incinerators are among the most prolific sources of sulphur dioxide pollution, and every ton of garbage counts.

H. H. Kunnenberg
(Die Welt, 11 February 1983)





Police in Göttingen, Lower Saxony, have compiled an extensive computer record of people thought to be squatters, together with their left-wing sympathisers.

It is believed to be the first time in Germany that a local police force has done this. The existence of the records has been revealed by radio hams who tuned into police radio.

They put the information into a pamphlet and sent copies to journalists and politicians.

Most of the police records were collected by an undercover "reconnaissance and arrest squad" that systematically noted the licence plates of cars found around pubs, communes and various other places used by leftists.

This was transmitted via patrol car radio to police headquarters, where, it was computerised to form so-called "personal diagrams" and stored in data banks along with other information.

A speciality of the squad, the pamphlet says, was to tail suspected squatters on their way home from their their pub — mostly in a provocative and conspicuous way involving several patrol cars. The action was accompanied by lewd radio messages about the "pigface" and incitement to other policemen to "punch him up" or "dig a hole and throw him in," according to the brochure.

The police did not deny the story. Instead they launched a counter-offensive. A top CID officer confirmed the accuracy of the disclosure but tried to justify it with legal arguments.

According to the official police version, the data bank was part of a "clue documentation system" (Spudok for short) which is normally used in complicated fraud cases.

■ **THE LAW**

Radio hams put the cat among police pigeons

The introduction of the system, police officials say, was a mounting number of crimes committed by squatters, crimes that could not be coped with with the usual means.

But if all the police wanted was to clarify violations of the law in connection with squatting, demonstrations and graffiti, why did they tail town council candidates belonging to the socalled Alternative Ticket, critical journalists and visitors to a theatrical show for gays?

The head of the CDI argued that "action in connection with police suspicion" was governed by criteria other than those that apply to the average citizen.

The disclosures and their official confirmation caused consternation and anger among those affected.

They also doubt the legality.

Militants hurled Molotov cocktails at a police building while more level-headed people put the issue before the town council, filed criminal charges against the police and asked Lower Saxony's commissioner for protection against data abuse to intervene.

They were unsuccessful. The only political support they received came from the Work Group of Social Democratic Jurists who labelled the Spudok data bank a "new quality of state surveillance."

The authorities, on the other hand, rejected all complaints and the public prosecutor argued that the lewd insults on the police radio were legally covered by the right to freedom of opinion.

Police headquarters did, however, admit to a lack of "radio discipline," though it took no disciplinary action.

The commissioner for data protection, himself a high-ranking police official for seven years, was only mildly critical.

The "culprits" are now the anonymous ham operators; but they're anonymous and out of reach. The prosecutor has meanwhile gone for several newspapers that reprinted excerpts from the brochure.

Court action against major publications like the weekly *Der Spiegel* has meanwhile been dropped on the ground that the journalists responsible did no more than their duty.

But two editors of a Göttingen school newspaper and their premises have been searched.

While the action against the secondary school students — after all the fanfare — ended with no more than an admonishment by the Juvenile Court judge, the prosecutor's office several months later managed to find somebody whom it felt it could charge with a criminal offence: the Alternative-Green-Initiative List (AGIL) which is represented on the town council.

It was not the movement ... that was find somebody whom ... could charge charged, but ... members who is held to be res... for the distribution of handbill ... brochure with excerpts from "S... Attack."

The accused, a 27-year-old ... has not only been charged with ... ing telecommunications laws ... with insulting the police.

It was AGIL that coined th... *Geheime Stadtpolizei* (which ... sembles *Geheime Staatspolizei*, ... tapo) for the "reconnaisance an... squad" which, according to AGIL ... rates in a legal no-man's-land so... re between police and secret serv...

A 28-year-old owner of a ... shop has been charged as an ac... The trial that had been schedule... only three hours covered a whole...

The defence argued that it ... permissible "to draw the public's ... tion to illegal and unconsti... practices by the Göttingen police...

The judge, however, adop... views of the prosecutor, who ... that violating the law was no... combat alleged irregularities.

The AGIL member was ... DM1,000 while the printer was ... ted for lack of evidence that he ... the text of the material he had ... and that he had done the print... self.

It is probably not much of a ... tion to the man who was fined ... judge conceded that the cit... communications were enough ... ten any normal person."

Eckhard S...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 Febr...)

Book reveals: women who cry rape are not believed

I was told by the police that half the rapes reported to them are fabrications by women who have problems with their husbands and that they must look into the matter before setting the police machinery in motion," says a woman complainant.

This is one of the milder cases of police cynicism in cases of raped women contained in a 380-page study entitled *Mistrust of the Victims of Rape*.

The study was prepared by five Bremen policemen.

It is a critical survey of the attitudes of policemen, judges and prsecutors dealing with rape. The authors interviewed 50 rape victims and analysed their cases.

The five policemen regard the conclusions of the study as being representative for the 7,000 rape cases in Germany every year.

The gist of it is that women reporting a rape are treated with mistrust and prejudice by both the police and the courts — very much as if they were the offenders and not the victims.

The women interviewed described their questioning by the police as "disgusting," "impersonal" and "cynical." They said they were treated like little children.

One woman regarded it as a positive gesture that a policeman offered her a cigarette and a brandy.

Most victims said that their experience with the police would deter them from ever again reporting such a case and that they would not advise others to take the matter to the police.

One woman said about her qu... ing: "It was worse than the rape..."

Things are not much differ... court. Here the accused man is th... minant figure while the woman ... mere witness.

If the man denies the rape ... there are no other witnesses, ... usually acquitted on grounds of i... cient evidence. In fact, half the c... the survey were thrown out on ... grounds.

The circumstances surroundi... rape also play an important ro... cases where the woman had neve... the man before, 67 per cent of th... cused were found guilty. If they ... knew each other before the rape, ... five per cent were found guilty.

The courts are more inclined ... lieve a raped woman who was th... ed with a weapon than one who ... only told that she would come to ... if she did not comply. In the latter ... there was not a single conviction.

Outwardly visible injuries, the ... thors say, must not be a criterion ... credibility of the victim.

The survey shows that 86 per ce... the raped women were so shocked ... have been unable to defend thems...

Another suggestion by the ... (who are now back on active ... duty) is that a specially appointed ... son should assist the woman during ... trial and that the traumatic con... tion with the rapist be avoided.

They also suggest special psycho... cal training for police officers, ... and nurses.

Beate E...

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 Febr...)

STATE SECURITY

Police run into blind alley in hunt for urban guerillas

...lain-clothed policemen returned empty-handed from Ischia where ...wing urban guerrilla Inge Viett, a ...te blonde in her late thirties, was re...ed to have been seen.

...aybe the *Bundeskriminalamt*, or ...eral CID, was sold a red herring. ...be it was acting on a well-meaning ...rom a German holidaymaker.

...erman security authorities have ...n a blank in their search for Red ...y Faction (RAF) terrorists since last ...vember.

...n November they discovered 14 ... caches in various parts of Germa...nd arrested several terrorist sus... whose names have been on the ...ed list for years.

...e must work on the assumption ... Frau Viett is living a normal life ...like everyone else," says Christian ...hte.

...err Lochte is head of the *Verfas...sschutz*, or Office for the Protec... of the Constitution, in Hamburg. It ...ermany's domestic counter-intelli...ce agency.

...hristian Klar, Brigitte Mohnhaupt ... Adelheid Schulz, the trio arrested ... November, also lived normal lives ...r assumed names.

...hey travelled freely by car and rail ...und Germany. Frau Mohnhaupt ... spent some time in Wiesbaden, ...re the *Bundeskriminalamt* has its ...dquarters.

...hile she was there she broke into a ...armacy and restocked the guerrillas' ...dical supplies.

...hree months after the serious blow ... befell the terrorists in November ...y are quietly reorganising and meet... in German cities to discuss further ...vities.

...hey are laying in logistical reserves ... coordinating manpower for their ... moves.

...AF supporters, who live above...d lives and do not operate from un...round, have come out with declara... of solidarity with those arrested.

...he burning issue is that of connec... between the three levels of terro... activity: open sympathisers, terro... or suspects in custody and the mili... still at large.

...here are estimated to be at least a ...n active terrorist leaders still at ...e.

...hey include Inge Viett, Helmut and ...la Pohl, Christa Eckes, Silke Maier-...t, Sabine Eckle, Monika Helbing, ...ph Baptist Friedrich, Werner Lotze, ...d Sternebeck, Ingrid Jakobsmeyer ... Henning Beer.

... terms of intellect none of them ...unt to much. Most are failed stu...s and former solicitors' clerks. But ... are all experienced terrorists.

...omen have always figured promi...ly among the RAF terrorist leaders. ...y now seem to outnumber the men ... to one.

...hrista Eckes helped to reorganise ... RAF after the original Baader-...inhof group was broken up in the ...mer of 1972.

...he RAF has grown more astute than ...sed to be in recruiting fresh "legal" ...porters. Recruiting officers no lon... insist on supporters unflinchingly ...ng the party line on urban guerrilla ...vities.

...ut the organisation remains determined to keep up its armed struggle, quoting Che Guevara, who said that the struggle must continue even if the illegal armed groups in existence at a given moment are wiped out.

As the RAF put it in a brochure last year: "Let us use force by all means and in every respect. In isolation and not just against a historically unprecedented apparatus of repression.

"Let us also use force against the ideas of people with whom we would sooner have joined forces in other circumstances."

Evaluation of the 14 arms caches so far discovered has borne out assumptions that the terrorists have well-beaten paths between Germany and neighbouring countries.

Ties are mainly with Austria and the Benelux countries. The finds have included maps of how to smuggle goods across the border with Austria.

This would seem to confirm suspicions that it was no coincidence Inge Viett chose to kidnap an industrialist in Innsbruck in 1977, demanding DM4.2m in ransom money.

The caches included 105 Austrian passports and identity cards to help keep the gang mobile down south. They also included road tax stickers for motor vehicles that were valid until 1983.

The finds make it clear how the terrorists so successfully managed to avoid arrest when the police were hard on their heels.

Within an hour or two of the border by car there were caches where members of the group could undergo a swift and complete change of identity, replenishing supplies of both papers and ammunition.

Regardless whether they came from Austria and the Tyrol, heading west to Baden-Württemberg, or from Belgium to the Ruhr, they were able to fit themselves out with new passports and ID cards this side of the border.

Cash can have been no problem either. The terrorists even had valid South African passports.

The November coup by the security authorities will probably have postponed an offensive in the making, but it will have been postponed and not cancelled.

The RAF were planning a wave of violence to outdo even 1977 when its victims included the Chief Public Prosecutor, Siegfried Buback, Frankfurt banker Jürgen Ponto and Cologne employers' leader Hanns Martin Schleyer.

"We were planning to publish a fundamental declaration on strategy," one coded note unearthed explains, "but it will now have to wait until the next offensive.

"Theory will then regain full explosive force and the military offensive will carry political and propaganda weight over and above what it did in 1977."

Security authorities are working on the assumption that the RAF guerrillas still at large envisage a major raid this spring, possibly in connection with the general election on 6 March.

They warn people to be on the lookout for suspicious activities in the vicinity of people who could well be targets for attack and of the offices of appropriate authorities and military facilities.

In preparation for further activities and to lay in fresh logistical reserves the terrorists seem likely to keep an eye on potential victims.

Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin had been in jail for nearly three years when Inge Viett kidnapped West Berlin CDU leader Peter Lorenz.

A number of terrorists were released in return for Herr Lorenz. Frau Viett, a former kindergarten teacher, is felt by security authorities to be most likely to come up with some strategem no-one has been expecting.

But RAF raids will continue to be aimed at targets in keeping with the gang's political principles, excepting only raids to replenish supplies.

Break-ins at passport offices and ammunition dumps can be expected. So can bank raids to stock up on cash.

RAF strategy has been reappraised since the murders of Herr Ponto and Herr Schleyer and the failed skyjacking off a Lufthansa airliner to Mogadishu.

The result, it is assumed, may be a return to the original political concept. The emphasis in the months ahead is expected to be on what the RAF calls the anti-imperialist struggle.

That can only mean attacks such as those on the lives of General Haig in Brussels, General Kroesen in Heidelberg and the USAF headquarters in Europe at Ramstein.

Great importance is attached to the RAF slogan proclaimed in connection with the August 1981 Ramstein raid.

It was: "Develop resistance to destruction into a revolutionary front in Europe."

A further slogan was: "Develop the urban struggle alongside revolutionaries in the Third World."

There is known to be an RAF cache in Belgium to provide logistical support for raids on Nato brasshats and politicians in the Benelux countries.

It could also be used to help the terrorists stage kidnappings, but despite constant efforts the authorities have failed to locate the cache.

Coded references found in a German cache indicate that it exists and that it was laid on with such aims in mind.

The most likely candidates for abduction were, at the time the find was made, Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns, his deputy Eric da Rin and the Nato C-in-C General Rogers.

Plans for a rash of violence are extensive, if plans of several Bundeswehr headquarters, Nato bases and US, British and French military facilities are any guide.

Sights certainly seem set on Bundeswehr facilities. They include the Defence Ministry in Bonn, the Bundeswehr security division in Cologne, the naval HQ, northern command HQ in Mönchengladbach and southern command HQ in Heidelberg.

Leading politicians are also invariable targets for attack, being guarantors of US imperialism in the RAF's view. They include members of the government's crisis squad set up to handle the Schleyer affair in 1977.

Social Democrats are not in such immediate danger now the Christian Democrats are in power in Bonn, although listings may vary in keeping with the danger an individual is felt to represent.

Leaders of the current coalition of Christian and Free Democrats are certainly earmarked as symbols of imperialist oppression.

Politicians of all parties who are keen supporters of Nato remain in serious danger of terrorist attack and continue to do so despite the setback the RAF suffered last November.

The general election is not the only deadline that may prompt the terrorists to go all-out. Another is the decision, due this autumn, on whether or not to go ahead with missile modernisation.

Werner Kahl

(Die Welt, 18 February 1983)

Neo-Nazis charged over bomb raids on US bases

Three neo-Nazis have been arrested and charged in connection with bomb raids on American military bases and servicemen in Germany.

They are accused of making bombs and booby-trapping servicemen's cars in Butzbach, Frankfurt and Darmstadt last December.

The suspects were taken into custody on 15 February. Confirmation of their arrest was given by the Bonn Justice Ministry on 18 February.

The Butzbach and Darmstadt bombs exploded and seriously injured the drivers. The Frankfurt bomb was defused.

The three men have been charged with belonging to a terrorist organisation and with attempted murder. They are reported to have been members of the same group.

It is said to have been set up to arrange raids on US forces and facilities even at the risk of killing or seriously injuring people.

The Hesse raids, all in the Rhine-Main, or Frankfurt area, were originally thought to have been the handiwork of the Red Army Faction (RAF) or Revolutionary Cells.

But the CID officers investigating the cases are said to have been surprised that the raids were not followed by anonymous letters claiming responsibility on behalf of a left-wing terrorist group.

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann congratulated the security authorities.

The police caught leading members of the RAF who are still at large toward the end of last year.

They now seem to have apprehended a group of right-wing terrorists responsible for raids on US servicemen and their families.

Bonn Justice Minister Hans Engelhard said the raids had filled Germans with indignation.

Americans could rest assured that such acts of insanity by a small group of criminals were condemned by Germans of all political persuasions.

They in no way reflected anti-American feeling in the Federal Republic of Germany, no matter what the culprits might like Americans to believe.

Last year there were 68 raids on US facilities in Germany, according to the *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal CID, in Wiesbaden.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 February 1983)